1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5
Ethiopia MP1

AE 563 other southern provinces, who are considered more "primitive" in their material culture, and many of whom are "pagan".

AE 711 563 Emperor Haile Selassie has urged the Coptic clergy to "raise to Christianity" even peoples despised as "unworthy" in the old pattern. As a result, peoples like the Agau (incl. the Qemant) who have long been neighbors to the western Amhara, and the laboring Gurage near Addis Ababa, have been converted and occupy status somewhere between level 1. and 2., depending on the wealth they have been able to accumulate by past labors. The Qemants have become favorites of the clergy at Gondar because of their generous donations to the local Coptic churches.

AE 563 [826] The people of coffee-rich Jimma, in Kaffa province, enjoy respect within level 2. because they had been left with internal autonomy during the rule of Menelik II; and because they are believed to be a slightly higher physical type than other infidels (they are considered "wammate", people with wrinkles at the corner of the mouth). Perhaps due to their old wealth based on coffee, slave and gold trade, they are envied; but they are regarded as "people of dissolute moral habits" by the Amharas.

AE 463 563 3. Laboring peoples and classes; non-Coptic; despised, in the old patterns of behavior.

This includes all occupational groups that did or do the ironsmithing, leather tanning, skilled or non-skilled manual labor. Among them are the lower classes of the Galla (mentioned before); the non-Coptic Gurage; the Falasha who live in small rural communities in Begemdir province, who do most of the ironsmithing and pottery-making there, and who practice a Mosaic form of Judaism.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

585 made, blue-bordered "kuta" (double toga). His hair has been trimmed short, so that he will not appear like a rustic woodsman. His mize flank him, and henceforth never part from his side during the wedding proceedings. All three approach the groom's father, bow from the hip in greeting. A patrilineal elder addresses the groom in serious tones, reminding him that his obligations to his father continue although he will now be founding a house of his own. Then the father addresses his blessing to him, more briefly. In reply, the son makes the motion of kissing the father's feet, which the latter deftly prevents by tucking him under the chin so that the kiss lands on the knee. He also kisses the knee of the elder (the knee is regarded as the seat of strength). Then the groom and mize sit down about a minute, to symbolize having taken part in the initial festivities.

826

492 585 Meanwhile the escort saddle the biggest mule, preferable a strong, huge, "Senaar" mule. The groom bids farewell to the father and elder kinsman, most of whom remain behind, though at least one elder kinsman rides along to act as spokesman, usually the "näggär abbat" who can best recapitulate the negotiations. The young "gobäz" escort run along on foot, brandishing their long sticks (formerly spears), shouting war shouts. A Senaar mule can go at a fast trot, so that the men on foot must keep on a run. The elder kinsman rides a smaller, Ethiopian mule.

585 Like a fast-moving army on the attack, the group crosses fields, trails, hills, valleys, finally stops in the valley below the hill on which the bride's hamlet is located. Here they catch their breath, shake off the dust, arrange their togas in "outgoing" fashion, go behind a bush to satisfy the call of nature after so much beer-

302 golden red stain obtained from the root of this bulbuous plant which grows wild. This is done by young girls and respectable married women, as well as "unattached women".

Shadowing of eyelids, however, is the specialty of divorcees and "unattached women". It is done by means of antimony ("kull"), mixed in powdered form with vegetable oil, and applied with a simple grass brush (much as in ancient Egypt).

304 Tattooing ("neqsat") is also a special attraction made use of almost exclusively by divorcees who want to attract another husband; [826] as they themselves say "for beauty's sake". Since it is a mark of beauty to have a long neck, tattooing aims at emphasizing this feature, and a concentric series of necklaces is carefully tattooed on the neck from ear to ear and from the collarbone until part of the way up the cheek. Seven hatched lines of this tattoo can cost as much as Eth$3-4, even in the less expensive provincial towns. The work is done by a professional woman tattooer, and takes several hours. There is pain for about a week thereafter, so that a divorcee usually has it done about two weeks before one of the major holy days in the year which also serve as climaxes of the flirting season, notably Epiphany (Temqät) and Mikael. The freshly applied tattooing will then be noticed as an innovation by men looking over the eligible women, and as conversation piece invite the approach of the male. Tattooing fades, especially on dark skin.

Tattooing of the gums is also popular among divorcees, to heighten the whiteness of the teeth, and is curiously called "ters tequrat" (lit. blackening of the teeth), (also "guramayle"). Unlike neck tattooing, in which the dye used is usually blue, blackening of the gums, between and just above the teeth, done with soot, achieves a much darker effect.

186 ethnocentrism; "We" includes the brunette racial features of the
829 Mediterranean world, particularly if accompanied by Abyssinian-Coptic religion, for to the Amhara the name "Amhara" is synonymous with Christianity of their own denomination. "They", in their mind, refers to the black peoples of Africa whom they enslaved; but also to "infidel", particularly the Muslims with whom they have been at war so often. They draw many lines within these major ethnocentric divisions, racial, religious, ethnic-occupational and linguistic. But, in the Amhara attitude, racial differences are among the most fundamental.

829 The skin color of most Amhara is regarded by them as brown
822 ("t̃aym"), considered better looking than the black of negroid peoples, and reflecting "better character". Black color is regarded as symbolic of anything unpleasant, spiritually impure, ("t̃aqqorā" connotes "he became shadowed, sad, depressed"). It is a (mild) insult to call a very dark person "t̃aqqwara" (lit. "darkie"). European skin color is regarded as "red" ("ōny") - a common African attitude. The concept of "white" coloring connotes paleness ("n̄atta" (lit. he became pale), undernourishment, sickness, insipid weakness.

822 Color symbolism is followed in dress: The Amhara wear white
291 togas, without coloring more than the border, because the concept white also connotes spiritual purity (by extension of the concept of the absence of physical strength). Yellow ("w̄ayba") is the traditional color of special mourning, worn only by monastic monks who regard themselves as in a state of perpetual mourning for the passing of Christ from the earth (the dye is made from the bark of the "wayba" tree, hence the name). Green and blue are collectively called "arāngwadē", and are not sharply differentiated.

826 Racial ideas also dominate the Amhara concepts of physical

826 beauty: The comparative gerontomorphy of Amhara facial features, even in the case of females, is regarded by them as a mark of beauty, e.g. a long, high bridged nose, which denotes "nobility" and absence of strong negroid strains. In contrast, a flat nose with depressed root and broad nostril is called "kurfad", which is also used as an insult. The thick lips of the negroid Shanqalla ex-slaves ("känfäräm", lit. full lower lip), especially if at the same time everted ("ahəya länboch" lit. donkey lip; or "länbochäm") are considered marks of ugliness in both men and women. The rare light eyes that crop up among the Amhara are not regarded as special marks of beauty, but as [186] outlandish ("bahër ayn", lit. eyes from overseas), for Amhara ethnocentrism is directed also at foreignisms other than negroid traits. [71] The bulging almond eyes popular in other parts of the Middle East are regarded as marks of feminine beauty and feminine "nobility" by the Amhara also.

The spiral peppercorn hair ("barya täsur", lit. slave hair; or "kordada"), of the subjected negroid races is regarded as ugly by the Amhara. Conversely, their own helical hair ("zoma täsur", i.e. hair that stands up thick and rich in a bushy halo, or thick curls) is considered beautiful and indicative of "good racial stock ("attentam"). Outcrops of soft, wavy hair ("lahucha", light hair that falls down), which is more frequent than light eyes, is regarded as outlandish, but accepted with a smile, as of no great significance.

Similar attitude rules the beauty of the ear. The medium-sized ear of most Amhara is preferred. The round, curved, small negroid ear ("goraf joro") is considered ugly; but the other extreme, the big elongated ear that stands out like a donkey's ("färbaba joro"), found

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

[826] in many Europeans, is not considered a mark of beauty either.

186 828 Amhara ethnocentrism rules over their attitudes to the other two major ethnic groups that inhabit Abyssinia: The Coptic Tigrē peoples who are accepted as "ethnic cousins"; and the Muslim and "pagan" Galla, somewhat more African but not negroid, who occupy a middle social position above that of the Shanqalla. The Amhara stereotype as to the personality of these different groups is:

Amhara - "noble", slow of speech, subtle, patient, slow to anger.
Tigrē - shrewd, fast in thought and action, "light" in temper, impatient.
Galla - coarse, shameless (e.g. willing to do manual labor), dull-witted.

An interesting application of this stereotype has arisen in recent years in the discussions about these "national temperaments" by Amhara officers of the modern Ethiopian army, who are concerned with the performance to be expected of the diverse ethnics in battle; important considerations in a country where emotional differences along tribal lines are still strong:

Amhara soldier:

Proud of individual feats; good fighter when his individual pride has been challenged and aroused.
Hates to take orders; difficult to discipline.
Loves to give orders, to act as "great man"; objects to being hurried.
Explosive in temperament, when startled.
Rarely tenaciously energetic; but if he possesses this quality, he is excellent potential leadership material.
"If you treat him as a friend, he thinks he can be your master."

Galla soldier:

Easy to discipline; will take orders and carry them out, without tricks.

186 quoted to praise farming as the best and most typical Amhara occupation, casually refer to the Muslim as a person not bound by social ethics:

[539] "He traded - (then he) cheated;
he was appointed (official) - he began (to act) like a Muslim;
(but) he (who) was a farmer - and became a king!"

[177] Nevertheless, the influence of Islam, probably by slow diffusion, has been considerable on Abyssinian Christianity through the centuries. Their avoidance of "unclean, forbidden things" ("erm"), such as pork, though officially based on the Old Testament prohibitions, was probably reawakened or reintroduced and emphasized through the pressure of Muslim ideas, geographically so close.

[532] The Amhara paint an infidel, like any evil person, with one eye, in profile, for "he has only half a soul, is only half-born, sees only half the truth." The outsider is regarded as automatically of evil personality.

C. Amhara Ideas about Body and Personality.

826 Not all Amhara ideas about human beauty are dominated by racial criteria. A long, lean face ("fit s̈älkakkä") is considered handsome in a man, while a broad face ("fit s̈äda") is considered ugly; this may bear some relation to the gerontomorphic preference over the pedamorphic.

[304] A long neck ("angät") is a mark of beauty, in both sexes, but noted especially in the woman who therefore may have a series of necklaces tattooed on to her neck. The beauty of the long neck is referred to in the following proverb:

[539] "The neck of the dead child
is longer (than ever);
(meaning, "a good thing that came when of no use).

The forehead is considered the location of good fortune, and a large forehead is considered a mark of beauty in men.

●826 Projecting teeth, especially incisors ("gätata") are considered ugly, wild animal-like, and it is an insult to call such a person [302] "tersam" (lit. toothy). Hair is grown long and standing up stiff by warriors who wish to appear ferocious. The hairdoes of women are diverse. Baldness ("tämallätä") is relatively rare, and if at all, comes very late. Big hips, though covered, are considered an important mark of beauty in a woman, while little attention is paid to the breasts which lose their youthful shape early in life due to prolonged breastfeeding. The ideal feminine body is a fairly short, hippy woman ("täfär wägäb") with high-bridged nose and bulging eyes. On the other hand, a woman with small or lean hips, called "dog hips" ("wesha wägäb"), whose hips are sharply outlined ("wägäb araqi"), is considered deficient in feminine allure. The proverb says:

[539] "(strong) child from hippy woman;
(good) grain from lower terrain (more fertile)."
"A short man is like a monkey,
(but) a short woman like a noblewoman."

The seat of strength in a man is not considered to be in the biceps, but is believed located in the knee ("gulet"). This is examined when hiring a laborer (formerly also in a soldier), perhaps because t he physical type of most Amhara is slender, and their legs have little visible musculature - though much endurance. It is still considered praise to call a young man "gulmasa" (powerfully kneed), and the Amhara take great pride in being able to walk long distances without a rest; flexing the tendon behind the knee ("gwanja"). The elbow is the next place ("kendan" man with powerful elbow) of strength. Bowlegs ("waraha") are considered the result of riding too much, and are not regarded as a special mark of ugliness.

826 A very thin person ("jemmatam") is regarded as being full of tendons, nerves and veins, all of which are generically called "jemmat"; they are conceived as running through the body like the fibers of a tree.

The beard comes late, and since a good chin whisker is rare before the age of 30, it is regarded as a sign of maturity. The proverb says:

[539] "Beard, lacking to the teacher;
cypress, lacking to the church; (i.e. symbol of the churchyard) (are one)." (i.e. neither will be fully respected.)

[779] The dichotomy of the human body, in the religion, considers the upper part holy; and the lower part, which serves sex and defecation, as profane. To illustrate one who serves two masters, the proverb says:

[539] "Above the hips - the tabot (sacred tablet of the church),
below the hips - idols."

No distinction is made in body hair, whether it is usually scanty underarm hair ("cheggun") or pubic hair, except that the latter was supposed to be plucked out by women. Despite the distinction of sacred and profane body parts, this distinction does not apply to archangels and saints, every part of whose body is lauded in some of the liturgy, e.g. in the book "Malek Mikael" which eulogizes also the body of this archangel.

Abnormalities of the human body are attributed to the effect of the supernatural. In the case of a new-born child, abnormality of body is attributed to an evil spirit, especially a male "zar" who has magically possessed the mother and who is jealous of the human husband whom he regards as his rival. In case of transvestites, who are always believed to be hermaphrodites ("fenafel"), the abnormality is actually referred to as a "mistake of God".

Some women with hysterical tendencies revert to infantile behavior. In the zar society they can act this out, while protected and disciplined by the matriarchal zar doctor. Others, with a father-complex, join zar societies headed by male zar doctors. In either case they enjoy recreation and amusement with the "sibling"devotees, with whom they can gossip and enact sibbling roles, such as playfully accusing each other of minor oversights in the service of the zar; (it often takes this form).

Even her life outside the zar society becomes changed. For she is now considered as guided by a protective zar who can extend his protection to other members of the family. Her husband, even if he objects to the zar, often will admit the radiant beauty of her face and her bearing, due to the "weqabi" (protective zar). As a result of her exposure to businesswomen, the menfolk in her family will not shunt her aside when talking business, or legal or kin matters. Some women devotees whose bent is more feminine, become midwives, "experts" in domestic obstetrics and primitive gynecology. There are many ways in which the woman's social status improves. No longer is she a mere hauler of water and hewer of wood. This change usually relieves her mental ailment - and this cure is ascribed to the zar doctor and the zar complex.

As a result, a good, protective zar is valuable, and a mother will try to pass it on to her daughter, or her own sibling, or other members of the family. To do this, the zar doctor must be consulted and a special gift given "to the zar". But a person having a protective zar is regarded as having an optional right to pass the zar on through biological inheritance and transfer for seven generations. The "zar"-

9: Coon D-5 (1933-1934) 1939 MP5 Amhara MP5
Somali MO4

ever a rosy-white shade in the non-negroid element, it has long since disappeared. Among the Somalis, however, an entirely different situation is found, for the majority are lumped around the von Luschan #29. Numbers 27 and 30 account for most of the others; hence there is a single and characteristic Somali color, which is a rich, glossy, chocolate-brown, which accounts for seven-eights of the entire Somali group. A very few are darker, and individuals are as light as light brown, in a very few cases as light as Arabs. The contrast between highland Ethiopians and Somalis in skin color is so great that one must postulate that the original non-negroid narrow-bodied and narrow-faced strain which the living Somalis represent was not white skinned in any sense of the word, for the Somalis are the least negroid people in East Africa.

The Ethiopians themselves are extremely conscious of differences in skin color, and divide themselves into four groups: "Yellow," "Yellow-Red," "Red," and "Black." These groups do not correspond very well with the von Luschan scale, but represent the product of centuries of local experience, and are perhaps more significant from the genetic standpoint. A jury of Amharas and Gallas called 20 per cent of the former "Yellow," as against 8 per cent of the latter; only 2 per cent of either was "Black." In both, the "Red" class was the most numerous; with 47 per cent of Amharas, and 70 per cent of Gallas. Most of the few Sidamos studied are evenly divided between "Red" and "Black." This system could not be applied to the Somalis, whose characteristic hue defied classification.

In hair form the Ethiopians also have their own system, which hardly agrees with ours. It has three divisions; *lüchai*, meaning "straight," *gofari*, meaning "curly," and another term which signifies extremely negroid, or peppercorn. Actually, no single highland Ethiopian with straight hair was measured in the author's series, although one apparently straight-haired Agau was seen. Among the Amharas, 80 per cent were called "curly," and the rest "straight," according to native terminology; among the Gallas the same 20 per cent of "straight" were found, while among the Sidamos this rose to 30 per cent. Actually, the *gofari* class included both curly hair in a Hadhramaut sense, and frizzly hair of a negroid character. Hair which the Ethiopians themselves considered negroid was confined to a few individuals who were to all purposes pure negroes, and undoubtedly slaves.

According to our own classification, 40 per cent of the Amharas have non-negroid, wavy or curly hair,[66] and the rest frizzly; the non-negroid

[66] According to Fischer's findings, our "curly" could be called a negroid-white mixed form.
Fischer, E., *Die Rehobother Bastards.*

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

THE PHENOMENA OF AMHARA ORALITY

155 826 [856] [192] Shortly after an Amhara child is born some butter is placed in his mouth. This is done in the belief that it will keep his voice from becoming harsh. From that moment on, the mouth never ceases to be an organ of extraordinary importance in his life. Its cultural importance is reflected in the attention given to it in the Amharic vocabulary: Baeteman's *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* lists some sixty idioms built with the Amharic word for mouth, *af*, more than are listed for any other words in the language except "eye," [539] "heart," and "earth."[4] The organ is publicly celebrated in such proverbs as: "Cleverness of mouth, to the master; cleverness of hand, to the slave."

155 826 171 The oral zone is of course of universal significance. Some items of oral imagery probably appear in most languages, and manifestations of oral libido appear in many forms familiar to Westerners: the French love for gourmandism, the German passion for beer-drinking and singing, the American addiction to cigarettes, chewing gum, and "life-savers." Many of the less familiar phenomena to be related below in describing Amhara orality, moreover, are found in most of the cultures of Africa and the Middle East. But such phenomena often appear inconspicuously alongside other culturally patterned impulses and sublimations stemming from other phases of psychosexual development. What may distinguish the Amhara—and doubtless some other cultures—is the extent to which the oral zone is an object of attention and a source of behavioral modes and expressive symbolism. The Amhara, it appears, have a preoccupation with orality.

121 155 [152] This preoccupation is manifest in three different kinds of phenomena. There are, first of all, aspects of Amhara culture which express a strong positive attachment to the infantile experience of sucking, in pure and in numerous sublimated forms. These we shall designate as the phenomena of *oral erotism*. Second, there are the aspects of Amhara culture which express a strong positive attachment to the oral zone as a center for various aggressive activities—the modes which Erikson calls "incorporation by biting," "oral retention," and "oral intrusion." These we shall collectively designate as the phenomena of *oral sadism*. Finally, there are phenomena which express a conflict about the gratification of many of these oral desires; and these we shall refer to as the phenomena of *oral ambivalence*.

155 853 *Oral Erotism*

Feeding at the breast is a prominent and beloved experience in Amhara life. The Amhara infant is suckled whenever he wishes, at the slightest show of desire. Since he is rarely separated from his mother it is easy for him to satisfy himself at any time of day or night. Popular beliefs about breast-feed-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

191 155 rhythm and rhyme of words as an epicure with a palatable viand or intoxicating old wine. . . . Like the infant, his affective state can only be pacified through a rhythmical expression of pleasurable sounds.[8]

The Amharic language itself registers a certain sensibility to the nature of poetry as an oral outlet. Agreeable and pleasing language is characterized in Amharic by the same word which is used to characterize particularly pleasing food: "*tāfata*" ("it is sweet"). The introduction to the *Chronicles* of Emperor [539] Galawdewos is but the literary embellishment of a type of statement which could be made by any Amhara:

> We commence here this beautiful narrative, of more pleasing taste to the mouth . . . than honey and sugar, which will bring pleasure to those who hear it and will give, to those who understand it, a joy like that given by song and wine.[9]

155 828 [826] The incorporation of knowledge no less than the enjoyment of words is conceived in explicitly oral terms in Amharic. The stomach is regarded as the seat of wisdom, and in the language of schoolboys the diligent student is one who has thoroughly "drunk his lesson." The experiencing of one's school as an Alma Mater is probably quite intense; as one tenth-grade student wrote in a contribution to his school newspaper, "Oh! Mother School! There is nothing like school! As a mother feeds her children with milk and bread, so does a school feed her children, the pupils, with education."[10]

155 261 574 527 Eating and drinking for their own sake, beyond what is required for nutrition, form perhaps the most obvious medium for oral erotism, and one that is cultivated to a notable degree among the Amhara. Feasting is called for on every possible occasion—christenings, funerals, and memorial services, [575] as well as engagements, weddings, and annual holidays. The chief purpose of [794] the only voluntary association in traditional Amhara society, the religious fraternal association known as the *māhebar,* is to eat and drink in honor of a certain saint on his day every month. The duration of any large celebration is said to depend on how long the food and drink last; successful ones go on for three days. Linguistic usage stresses the oral function on such occasions. One "eats at," rather than attends, a christening party; one "drinks in," rather than belongs to, a *māhebar;* one expects to "eat at," rather than dance at, somebody's wedding. The very word for Easter, "*Fāsiqā*," literally means "great feast."

155 261 264 The activity of eating is colored by a number of conventions which express its great emotional significance. The mood at mealtime is supposed to be deeply serious. Food is to be masticated aloud, indicating a total involvement with the task at hand. Not to let others hear one chewing, like eating by oneself, also is taken to imply greed. The usual obligation to stand when somebody enters the room is waived when one is eating. "Grain is king," says an

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

cal animosities which have weakened the nobility as a status group both in relation to the emperor and in relation to foreign countries. Another respect in which Amhara parochialism has been expressed is the addiction to regional stereotypes, according to which the Tigrean has been depicted as flighty, irresponsible, and "dry"; the Gondarē as intolerably proud; the Gojjami as sly and treacherous; and the Shoan as calculating and untrustworthy. Despite its long history as a nation, Ethiopia probably never experienced more than the dimmest stirrings of a truly national sentiment among its people; and more than once in the past century have regional lords strengthened the hand of European powers in Ethiopia by seeking their help in the combat against other local rulers.

Self and Others

In addition to considering the extent to which the members of a society identify with the needs and symbols of their more inclusive collectivities, one may also define the individualistic disposition on the dimension of personal interaction. Egoism contrasts, in other words, not only with the disposition to perceive collective purposes as one's own, but also with the disposition to seek solidarity and mutuality in face-to-face relations.

This aspect of egoism/solidarism is studied by surveying the more important forms of interaction that appear in a given society. In the survey of elementary social behavior among the Amhara now to be reported, two criteria were used to establish the importance of any given form: (1) the frequency with which it was observed, and (2) the extent to which it was stylized or "institutionalized." These criteria were not embodied in any systematic observational procedures; the only control over the observer's bias here is my own deliberate effort to present a balanced and accurate picture.

We may begin by considering the more solidaristic forms. Interaction among the Amhara is characterized, first of all, by a sort of *sensuous camaraderie*. The Amhara enjoy bodily contact. Members of the same sex customarily hold one another's hands for long periods while conversing, or embrace one another in casual fellowship. Crowds of commoners cheerfully huddle close to one another on the floor through the night when they have assembled for some social function and cannot return home the same day. Relatives and companions of the same sex incline to sleep in one another's arms, at least in the chillier altitudes.

Both their style of dress and their manner of eating give the Amhara a ready way to express this comradely feeling. Their untailored cotton or wool cloth easily adapts itself to being shared. Except perhaps for individuals of high social status, the typical Amhara is ready to use his toga as a blanket-wrap for both himself and another whom he may scarcely know.

*755 *713 endorcelling spells and rituals is mainly limited to certain debteras, the Coptic scholars among whom the *755 ganel's human intimates are also found. Since laymen 539 are generally illiterate and unfamiliar with the litur- [212] gical language (Ge'ez) in which spells are composed, they are unable to master the long lists of magical names and injunctions which are associated with powerful spells. Consequently, although laymen occasionally own ensorcelling spells and rituals, these spells are generally abbreviated and invariably weak. In addition, lay-owned spells and rituals are usually obtained from questionable sources, since the layman is unlikely to possess a medium appropriate for "purchasing" such knowledge.

*753 754 Human illness-causing powers may be inherited or congenital, as well as learned. In Begemder Province, inherited powers are limited to budas, Falasha wer-hyenas. The buda's dangerous abilities reach full potency after pubescence, when the hyenas' nocturnal cries compel him to spend the night with them feasting upon disinterred human cadavers. At dawn, the buda returns home, assuming a benign demeanor until his morbid attentions are * [826] * [192] fixed upon a living victim. Many of these are persons of "good blood" (tiruw dem sew), individuals who have inherited the light and unblemished complexion favored by Amhara, although other attractive physical features

also excite the buda's interests. The buda's remaining victims are people he sees eating ordrinking in public, particularly while the buda himself is hungry or thirsty. In all cases, the buda concentrates upon the part of his victim's anatomy that initially attracted him, and through it introjects his invisible buda aspect into the victim's abdomen. Unknown by the victim, the buda sets about dining on the latter's viscera; only later that day do the initial symptoms---nausea, vomiting, torpor---become evident. By nightfall, the unique symptoms of buda possession begin. The victim no longer complains of nausea, and vomiting ceases; now oblivious of his surroundings, he alternates periods of vacant staring with violent frenzies, during which he attempts to tear off his clothes and seeks reunion with the roaming hyenas. If forcibly restrained, he grits his teeth edge-to-edge, rigidly holds his flexed limbs close to his body, and compresses fingers against palms, thumbs inward; to onlookers, he appears as a human hyena. At dawn, the victim's frenzy dissipates, and he lies abed, greatly fatigued by the nocturnal exertions and severly weakened by the buda's feasting. At nightfall, the frenetic drama is repeated, and, unless the buda is exorcised soon, the victim's death becomes certain.

Yiesw ayn ("the person's eye") shares important similarities with buda powers. It is exercised involun-

through the chirurgeom's massage.

Bleeding is regarded as a fatiguing experience for the client, and must be followed by a rest of two or three days. Bleeding for ras mitat is considered an exception, and no rest is required. However, the sickman is particularly vulnerable to gerifta during recuperation and, so, cannot leave his but for fear of a relapse.

The cupper is unique among lay practitioners in several respects. First, he occasionally works under the direction of another category of practitioner, the tegen (wogeyša). Second, there are special physical requirements; the agamiy must have all of his incisors, and the upper and lower teeth must meet in an unbroken plane. Third, the agamiy exposes himself to certain dangers in the performance of this therapy. Because he must remove a pathogenic substance through the medium of the sickman's blood, there is the danger that, should any of the blood enter his own mouth, the agamiy may himself fall ill with the ailment he is treating. In addition, contact with this blood threatens those chronic ailments from which the sickman suffers (such as the rheumatoid pains associated with kitin, syphilis).

The agamiy's cup is a short, hollow bovine horn, whose tip has been removed. Selected leaves, which have been dried and then steeped to make them pliable, are

754 drome in a victim.

[826] [192] The buda is attracted to 1) persons of "good blood" (tiruw dem sew: someone with a light, clear and unblemished complexion, or, by extension, with another particularly attractive, konjow, aspect of his body) and [264] 2) persons observed eating or drinking, particularly when the buda is hungry or thirsty. While concentrating on that aspect of the victim which attracted him (e.g., the face of the child of good blood, or the diner's mouth), the buda introjects his invisible self into the victim's body. Once inside, he sets to eating the viscera, simultaneously laying eggs from which prodigious numbers of wosfat hatch out. About two-thirds of his victims are children of ten years or less.

753 754 His victim is never aware of the disease act taking place, and symptoms of the ailment appear only later in the day, as the wosfat hatched by the buda vent their rapacity on the sickman's stomach and heart. Thus, he experiences nausea, vomiting and fatigue. At nightfall the first of the ailment's dramatic symptoms appear, as the buda acknowledges his presence.[53] Complaints of nausea and stomach pain stop, as the sickman grows oblivious to

[53] Bibuda tabalac, "seized by the buda", is also a common nomer for this ailment.